

Golf US Masters

O'Meara steals his first major

David Davies at Augusta

MARK O'Meara, in amazing circumstances, holed a 20-foot birdie putt on the 72nd hole to win the title at the Augusta National Golf Club last Sunday and register his first major championship.

The winning putt looked to be missing the left edge for a huge part of its journey but it straightened at the last moment, caught the rim and fell in. The Florida was enveloped by his caddie and appeared to be close to tears.

The putt gave him a record of 47, after birdies at three of the last four holes, and a total of 279 — nine under par. He went to the presentation ceremony to have the Green Jacket placed around his shoulders by the defending champion — and his best friend in professional golf — Tiger Woods.

O'Meara finished one ahead of Fred Couples and David Duval, with Jim Furyk a further stroke behind.

As overnight leader Couples was keen to prove that you have to win two majors in order to be numbered among the great. When David Toms a US Tour journeyman, posted a round of 64, he set a target of 283.

Almost incredibly the 35-year-old Jack Nicklaus was among those joining for the title. One under overall, Nicklaus went to the turn in 33 and at that point was only three behind Couples.

The applause for Nicklaus really started when he hit a big drive off the 1st. No longer was it the polite acknowledgement of a golfing superstar — this was urgent and emotional support for a man in contention.

He birdied the long 2nd and then, at the 3rd, he was just short of the green in two. His chip, which had a huge hollow, ran gently curving into the hole, and the great man did a mock stagger of astonishment.

At the short 4th he was through the green, to drop a shot, but putts of 6ft and 10ft at the next two holes both brought birdies. Another at the long 8th and even the leading men 25 years his junior would surely feel the breath of the Bear. But he could not get up in two his chip, which pitched 8ft from the hole, spun back to 20ft, and he could not hole from there.

As he walked on to the 9th tee he was sweating hard and puffing, but he hit two good approach shots and, with the easiest putt on that devilish green, inched from 8ft. If that was a disappointment — three putts at the 12th proved terminal. Having run the first one down to 3ft, Nicklaus hit that one 4ft past, and his momentum slowed. He had needed a round without any mistakes and that was not now going to happen. Nicklaus did birdie both the long holes, the 13th and 15th, but his progress now depended on others losing their way.

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Watch the birdie... American Mark O'Meara celebrates victory on the 18th green at Augusta

Couples was one of the leading pack who did just that. When he won in 1992 he was ridiculously lucky at the short 12th. After under hitting his tee shot, the ball started to roll down the bank to Rex's Creek — and then stopped halfway down.

terrible tee shot at the 12th, deep into the woods on the left, a shot seen even by old Augusta hands. It managed a miraculous escape — one blow hit then blew his back in, hitting wind was in the crown, staves, an even more terrible shot than the drive, into the creek at the front of the green. There was a chance at all of playing it. He hit a four pitch from the drop zone and that meant a double-bogey score. The creek had caught up with him, and for the first time since the first round he was not the leader.

That position lasted just two holes. A towering long iron second at the 15th gave Couples a 50 eagle putt, which he rolled in as if nothing untoward had happened. He was now level, at eight under, with Duval.

All the time, though, O'Meara was cruising quietly. He birdied the 15th, just as Duval was dropping a shot at the 16th. When O'Meara then birdied the 17th, from 6ft, he joined the pack of eight under.

The leading Europeans were the reu Clarke and Colin Montgomerie, both at three under par, alongside Woods. Clarke said: "I came here to make the cut. To get into the top 10 was wonderful."

Lee Westwood, whose only remaining aim at the start was to get into the top 24, instead went in reverse. His round of 78 left him in a position that, while he had not lost a hole with the course last year, "he went in left, like being in the driver's seat. Maybe I'm a little bit more nervous. I know there's places not to hit the ball."

Chris Johnson, after a 76 and Jose Maria Olazabal, after a 76, both ended two-under, and Ian Woosnam finished with 70, four under, alongside Ernie Els.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
April 19 1998

Vol 158, No 17
Week ending April 26, 1998

The Guardian Weekly



Death of a tyrant... A Khmer Rouge soldier lights the funeral pyre of Pol Pot in the Cambodian forest. The Khmer Rouge, whose reign of terror in the 1970s took the lives of 2 million Cambodians, died of a heart attack last week. His body was put on display before being cremated.

Pol Pot: the monster we created

John Pilger witnessed Cambodia's killing fields. He says Pol Pot's backers, China and the West, must also be held to account

people would be alive today — had the United States not helped bring them to power, had the governments of the US, Britain, China and Thailand not supported, armed and sustained them.

The iconic images of the piles of skulls from the killing fields ought to include those who, often at great remove in distance and culture, were Pol Pot's accessories and Faustian partners for their own imperial purposes.

To hear Henry Kissinger last week deny that the US, and especially the Nixon administration, bore any responsibility for Cambodia's horror was to hear the truth denigrated and our intelligence insulted.

The extent of this support — \$85 million from 1969-85 — was only revealed six years later. In November 1980 direct contact was made between the Reagan White House and the Khmer Rouge who Ray Cline, a former deputy director of the CIA, made a clandestine visit to Pol Pot's operational base inside Cambodia.

Cline was then a foreign policy adviser to president-elect Ronald Reagan. Within a year some 50 CIA agents were running the secret US war against Vietnamese-occupied Cambodia from the US embassy in Bangkok and along the Thai-Cambodian border.

Washington's aim was to appease China, the great Soviet foe and Pol Pot's most enduring backer; and to force a resubmission of the Khmer Rouge to the American proposals on the agenda, on redeforestation, on the cessation of unilateral actions, including settlement building.

Mr Netanyahu was not committed about what ground the London

talks would cover. "We have talked of a number of possibilities. They involve the bilateral working out of problems, but I prefer to wait until Mr Blair has a chance to complete his rounds," he said.

A cabinet statement, however, dashed expectations of a London breakthrough. "We are not talking about European mediation or an international conference, but the possibility of a meeting which would take place in Europe," it said.

Mr Netanyahu's rightwing justice minister, Tzvi Hertz, said: "The British are not supposed to be involved in direct negotiations between us and the Palestinians. They would have a meeting and by doing so perhaps gain some prestige, which would not cost us anything."

Egypt's foreign minister Amr Moussa summed up the mood of Arab leaders when he said he was sceptical about the value of a London meeting unless Mr Netanyahu accepted Washington's plan. Israeli policy was only "to enter into circles and waste as much time as possible".

It is not lack of will that prevents Mr Netanyahu from acting. The problem is parliamentary arithmetic. The smaller voices in his coalition, those which would dream of Greater Israel, now wield disproportionate power. They are holding the majority of Israel's reins.

However much pressure Washington can bring to bear in the coming weeks, there can be no fundamental breakthrough this side of a general election.

Even more depressingly, the rise of the religious right and the fragmentation of the old political hegemony into a kaleidoscope of special and ethnic interest groups spells further disaster for the left, where the Oslo enthusiasts dwell.

Martin Woolcott, page 12
Obituary, page 30

Middle East talks switch to London

Lucy Ward in Gaza City and David Sharrock in Jerusalem

TONY BLAIR hailed a breakthrough in the Middle East peace process on Monday when American invitations to a meeting in London on May 4 were accepted by the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, and Israel's prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu.

After talks with Mr Blair in Gaza, Mr Arafat said the British prime minister's visit had "restored hope" to the Palestinians.

However, Palestinians and Israelis have serious reservations about what can be achieved at the London meeting.

Mr Blair has been keen to stress that his initiative should not "cut across" proposals put forward by the United States to restart the peace process and accelerate moves towards a final settlement. The talks have been stalled for a year over Israeli plans to build Jewish settlements on occupied land and by Islamic suicide bombings.

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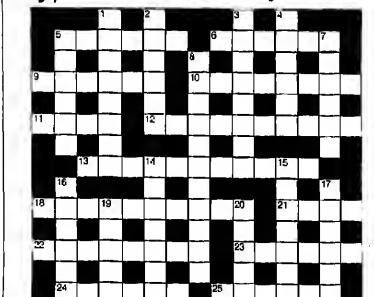
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Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



Across

- Born Welch, left off being a 7, a 2 with twist! lat (6)
- Dance round circle at US city to feel fair play? (4, 2)
- Some surprise Elizabeth has in the Harbel Bad? (5)
- Determination in a hand to be a 12? (7)
- Country that may plume itself? (4)
- County cut short a table with subconscious inspiration (10)
- It reduces noise in flight (5-6)
- Translating Dante, class used Murdoch's work (10)

Down

- Nuts about Northern King turning up as 12? (3, 5)
- Young creature with its former measures (6)

Last week's solution

ACROSS: 1. BORN WELCH, left off being a 7, a 2 with twist! lat (6)
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Motor Racing Argentine Grand Prix

Schumacher strikes again

Alan Henry in Buenos Aires

MICHAEL SCHUMACHER secured a brilliant tactical victory for Ferrari here last Sunday, taking advantage of an early blunder by race favourite David Coulthard to dominate from the fifth lap to the 72nd.

It was the first time that the Italian team had won in Argentina since the legendary Juan Manuel Fangio triumphed in 1956 at the wheel of a Lancia-Ferrari D50.

Coulthard's world championship hopes were dramatically lit when Schumacher closed in on him and challenged for the lead while breaking for one of the tight in-field hairpins on lap five. The Scot ran wide on the entrance, allowing Schumacher to slide inside, then closed the door on the McLaren Mercedes being launched into a half-spin over the left front wheel of his rival.

Coulthard returned in 12th place, eventually climbing back to sixth at the chequered flag — quite an achievement considering he was briefly rammed off the circuit by Jacques Villeneuve's Williams during their battle for seventh place.

Schumacher got the best out of the long-awaited new widebody Goodyear front tyres fitted to his Ferrari, winning by more than

22 seconds from Mike Hakkinen's McLaren despite making two scheduled stops to the Finn's lure. The turning point came on lap 53, when Schumacher emerged from his second stop 4.5sec ahead of Hakkinen, who had not been able to make up sufficient ground with his one-stop strategy to get ahead.

Hakkinen then lost seven seconds on lap 68, with only four laps to go, when a rain shower hit the circuit, frustrating his efforts as he settled on Schumacher's error when he slid on to the gravel trap just before the start/finish line.

In third place in the second Ferrari, battling hard with the Benetton of Alexander Wurz in the closing stages.

Ferrari place went to Jean Alesi's Sauber-Ferrari, the Frenchman continuing despite one of his car's secondary axle-mounting wings being accidentally ripped away during a refuelling stop.

The Williams team continued its disappointing form, with Villeneuve spinning off after colliding with Coulthard on lap 63, while Heinz-Harald Frentzen wound up sixth after being forced to make an extra pit stop when he incurred a 10sec stop-go penalty for speeding in the final laps.

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War on cocaine turns toxic 4

Unionists back Ulster peace 9

Euro set to be cash to stash 14

Aga old wisdom wins top US prize 33

Austria	AS30	Malta	50c
Belgium	BF80	Netherlands	G 5
Denmark	OK17	Norway	NK 18
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 14	Saudi Arabia	SR 8.50
Germany	DM 4	Spain	P 300
Greece	GR 600	Sweden	SK 19
Italy	L 3.500	Switzerland	SF 3.80

Bean-counters deliver a blow to NZ's future

YOUR recent reports on the effect of market forces gone berserk in New Zealand are both accurate and timely (April 12, March 15). Such is the power of New Right ideology here that politicians and commentators now speak of the health, arts and education "industries" without apparent discomfort. The disastrous power loss in central Auckland and the ever-growing waiting lists for surgery have been the most visible consequences to date, but the ticking of other time bombs goes ever louder. The myopia of the bean-counters is now threatening our already precarious world position in science and technology. New Zealand's investment in research and development, currently at 0.59 per cent of the GDP, has always been well below the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development average of 0.80 per cent. Even more alarming is the persistent reluctance of New Zealand businesses to invest in research and development, among the OECD countries. New Zealand boasts the lowest proportion of high and medium technology exports by a considerable margin.

New Zealand's science and research policy was overhauled in the early 1990s, with the creation of Crown Research Institutes (CRIs) from the former discipline-based institutes and the establishment of the omniscient Public Good Science Fund (PGSF). Then the stated intention was to raise government input to the OECD mean, and to encourage greater private investment in development. Of course other priorities have long since overtaken the former commitment. The PGSF's title is not the only aspect of the reforms reminiscent of the Soviet Union. Bids to the PGSF

must demonstrate "relevance" to the New Zealand economy before a high quality of science, and documentation from the government office responsible for administrative speaks of "purchasers", "providers", "outputs" and "contracts". As it is now politicians, administrators and accountants who decide what is science for the public good, scientists have been effectively reduced to contract seasonal workers some what akin to fruit pickers.

The effect of all that? A substantial proportion of the country's top scientific brainpower and tax revenue is now devoted to achieving revolutionary breakthroughs as the removal of sap drains from pinewood or assessing the effect of motorway spray on the performance of solar cells (both are genuine examples). Not surprisingly, business is now even less inclined to co-operate in endeavours of this calibre than before. Although there is considerable anecdotal evidence of a decline in morale among scientists in both the CRIs and the universities, the former are contractually barred from making public statements critical of government policy.

Douglas Russell,
Auckland, New Zealand

Hopes ride on Irish peace

LIKE millions of Irish people I have nervously watched the past few weeks unfold in Northern Ireland (McNeill's column, March 27). It is not the only aspect of the reforms reminiscent of the Soviet Union. Bids to the PGSF

included peace-time in Ireland. It is remarkable to think that it could be on the verge of achieving this. I have immense respect for my country, its people and its past. However, I believe, as many other young Irish men and women do, that our loyalty to the past, admirable as it may be, has stopped us from moving forward. Hopefully Easter 1998 will now make its way into the history books as the time peace was found in Northern Ireland.

Edith Doherty,
Sydney, Australia

INCREDIBLY, then, there is a deal. This represents a triumph for politics over violence. The question now is whether the parties' respective constituencies will be similarly satisfied.

David Trimble faces the hardest job in selling this deal. He has not moved as far as Gerry Adams, but he has given up things he held, not things he felt he was entitled to. He must try to sell position as a success, given his leadership role within the new assembly, Adams can just go along grudgingly.

If the Ulster people bring this agreement down, it shows us more clearly than that the British government will no longer be in a position to fund the entire costs of security and the expense of policing contentious parties.

Nick Martin-Clark,
London

ARETHINK of attitudes to Europe we need to move beyond our political illiteracy attitude to a European federalism based on regionalism. Imagine a situation in which England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland were co-located in the United Kingdom. And imagine the effects this would have on relationships between our communities.

The European Court could help resolve problems, and subsidise together with social and economic convergence, could be powerful progressive forces.

J.R. Turner,
Telford, Shropshire

Too close for comfort

PETER PRESTON's piece on the close links between the United States and all its cultural colonies deserves our close attention (Little Rock seems closer than Cairo, April 5). It seems to me that a subtle metaphorical representation for the US is the cuckoo — it grows too big for the nest it usurps and destroys what provides its support. Like all bullies it needs standing up to, which at least the French have attempted to do.

While there is much that is fine about the US until it develops some socio-psychological awareness of its place in the world and learns that there are other cultures of distinct value, it must remain the cuckoo and not the eagle. The US right or wrong is symptomatic of the naive approach to world affairs that has led to considerable embarrassment for the US in many of its worldwide adventures. The ignorance of most of US citizens about the rest of the world has been documented many times, most recently in the suggestion that US media are to concentrate more strongly on home-produced and home-focused

material — strings really for a country that has been the long-term host for mass immigration. However, the dependence of politicians on such an essentially unidirectional electoral reinforcement of insularity and conformism, the gun culture, the vengeful society seen in the increasing numbers of executions across the country and to a mass capitalist ethic in which money is all and where, as Jim Hoggland (April 12) points out, "social justice, the integrity of our leaders, US leadership in the world... have... been driven to the margins".

So much for the claims that the US is the freest or most democratic country. These features, in turn, allow free rein to those who provide the superficialities that are the cultural exports about which Preston writes.

David Riehl,
University of Tasmania,
Launceston, Australia

PETER PRESTON is quite right: the United States is a "deeply foreign land" which has been made to feel artificially familiar to consumers of American mass culture worldwide. Britain has been particularly fertile soil because of shared language and historical ties, factors that have been exploited to the full by the likes of Rupert Murdoch, who owns US entertainment factories and media outlets, for their products on both sides of the Atlantic.

Britain's continental neighbours in their (relative) enthusiasm for the pan-European ideal seem more mindful than the British of the fact that European geopolitical and cultural rivalries have been rampant here for the biggest mass slaughter in human history. In the final analysis, that doleful history is why Little Rock should not be allowed to seem closer than Cairo.

Nigel Braunwell,
Kalamazoo, Michigan, USA

Cold stare of Russian history

W. L. WEBB, the reviewer, and D. M. Thomas, the author, have got a few things right about Solzhenitsyn (Voice of History, April 5). But comparing him to Lenin is like comparing a freeman to an anarchist because they were both at the fire.

The rather lurid quote from Thomas's book, which conjures "Lenin and Solzhenitsyn, staring coldly at each other across the corpse-filled gorge of the 20th century", seems to imply that Solzhenitsyn was not allowed to seem closer than Lenin put those corpses there. Conjure indeed. Lenin decried Russia; Solzhenitsyn is nothing if not a Russian patriot and a nationalist.

Lenin murdered and incarcerated possibly millions; Solzhenitsyn effectively exiled and immortalised the dead in the Gulag Archipelago, having first spent a good deal of his life in the concentration camps followed by the fellow "across the gulag".

But the greatest absurdity comes at the end of the article. Whether Webb's gaff or Thomas's I know not, but to turn Solzhenitsyn's nastiness — frozen in the ice and hacked and eaten instantly upon discovery by starving prisoners — into a salamander is a sleight-of-hand that inspires little confidence in all the author's other observations.

Alexander Maitland,
Toronto, Canada

Briefly

THE United Nations Development Programme administrator, James Speth, announces that "a consensus has been reached on the development of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for the year 1998". The UNDP has to draw attention to the fact that its main concern has actually been to include money in all and where, as Jim Hoggland (April 12) points out, "social justice, the integrity of our leaders, US leadership in the world... have... been driven to the margins".

Alison Moritz Katz,
Geneva, Switzerland

WITH the forest fires in Brazil the curtain goes up on the final act in the tragedy of the Amazon. Indians, traditionally the stewards of that part of our ecosystem (March 29). However, the fire there is a tragedy for us all. By their actions, they could be the light of the Yanomami, the importance of forests to the global ecology, the devastation caused by the fires beyond national boundaries, or the forest value to multinational corporations and therefore to many of the world's developed economies — enlightened self-interest dictates that the nations of the world should unite to pay physical and financial resources into these regions in order to combat the inferno.

Nigel Lindsay,
Geneva, Switzerland

THE article about the Millennium Dome stated that the project "lacks a grand idea (March 9). An appropriate theme would be an ecological one, namely, how can we protect the global environment and hence guarantee the survival of the human species for another 1,000 years? It would be inspiring to young people, and it would be slow for many new technologies. By adopting such a theme, the organisers of the Dome exhibition could counter charges that it is a largely expensive irrelevance.

Neil McCutcheon,
Tunna, Upper West Region, Ghana

ADRIAN SEARLE, in his piece on Henri Cartier-Bresson, complains about him being "chained from the world" (February 22). But comparing him to Lenin is like comparing a freeman to an anarchist because they were both at the fire.

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS 3

Afghan foes agree truce

Susanne Goldenberg in Kabul

THE Americans came bearing peace. The Afghans welcomed them with the roll of carpets and the idea of small animals. But by the time the day of diplomacy came to an end last week, President Clinton's special envoy had extracted a promise of ceasefire and peace negotiations from men who have been making war for a generation. "It appears to be a breakthrough," Bill Richardson, the United States ambassador to the United Nations, said after a three-hour meeting with Mullah Mohammed Rabbani, the acting president of the Islamic Taliban militia, which controls the capital, Kabul, and most of Afghanistan.

He said the Taliban and the northern alliance, who rule the country's north, had agreed to a ceasefire but direct talks, to be held under UN auspices in Islamabad this week, would provide the military muscle to the former communist regime in the north. He said the Taliban and the northern alliance, who rule the country's north, had agreed to a ceasefire but direct talks, to be held under UN auspices in Islamabad this week, would provide the military muscle to the former communist regime in the north. He said the Taliban and the northern alliance, who rule the country's north, had agreed to a ceasefire but direct talks, to be held under UN auspices in Islamabad this week, would provide the military muscle to the former communist regime in the north.

That is what the people of Jely

Mayan, in southern Kabul, are hoping. The district has been bombed so relentlessly that only a few walls survive. "If peace comes, we can build our houses, everything will be cheap, and my children can go to school," said Bibi Zada, her voice muffled by the blue chador that completely enclosed her and which the Taliban decreed all Afghan women must wear.

Amid the devastation, Mr Richardson had his first encounter with the Taliban's puritanism: at a water well, he was told to remove his shoes, and a reminder to the press accompanying him that photography of human form is banned.

The Americans soon left the capital's ruins behind, flying over the snow-capped peaks of the Hindu Kush to encounter the relics of the former communist regime in the north.

At Sheberghan, the headquarters of General Abdul Rashid Dostam, he said the military muscle to the opponents of the Taliban, they were greeted by a lavish, officially orchestrated spectacle.

His caution was shared by Gulistan Farooqi, a Taliban fighter in the north. "The tale is happy that it is here, but we don't know what will come of it. We have seen so many deceptions come and go."

THE International Committee of the Red Cross has announced to send an aid package containing medical supplies, clothes and medicines to 10 relief workers held hostage in Somalia.

BORIS YELTSIN New to Japan, leaving Russia in the hands of Sergei Kiriyenko, who this week faces a third and final vote of confidence as prime minister in the Duma, the opposition-dominated lower house.

IN A man who has been... General Francesco De Martino, one of the country's most senior politicians, was arrested and held on suspicion of profiting from the kidnapping of a friend.

A GENERATION of leftwing terrorism in Germany came to an end when the Red Army Faction, the guerrilla and terrorist organisation born in the radical student revolts of the 1960s, announced it was disbanding.

SUSPECTED separatist guerrillas shot dead 29 people, mostly Hindus, in Kashmir, India's only Muslim majority state.

A BOEING-727 jet with 61 people aboard crashed into mountains on the outskirts of the Colombian capital Bogotá shortly after take-off, leaving no sign of survivors.

THE Nobel prize-winning poet and philosopher Octavio Paz has died in Mexico aged 84.

THE US company Monsanto has not called for genetically modified foods to be separated at source, as stated last week US chemical firm admits the PR experts, page 5.

Nigeria poll is walkover for Abacha

Matthew Tostevin in Lagos

NIGERIA'S presidential election will be a simple vote of "yes" or "no" for the military ruler, General Abdulsalam Abacha, a senior government official said on Tuesday.

Gen Abacha, who seized power in 1993, became the only candidate for the presidential elections in August after winning the nomination of all five registered parties on Monday.

Hasan Yusuf Khalifa of the Transition Implementation Committee, overseeing Nigeria's return to democracy, said Gen Abacha would still need to face a ballot even after securing the backing of all five parties. "As a consensus candidate there is still a need for him to face election according to the draft constitution," he said. "People should be given the chance to vote yes or no."

Gen Abacha's victory has already been condemned by local opposition and democracy groups, which demand the transition plan for restoring democracy to the country.

The United States and Britain quickly attacked the election. "There's nothing about Nigeria's political evolution in the last few months that strikes me as very democratic at all," the US state department spokesman, James Rubin, said in Washington. "It appears that the government of Nigeria is manipulating the transition in order to secure the continuation of General Abacha as the sole candidate."

A minister at Britain's Foreign Office, Tony Lloyd, said: "It is difficult to see how an election in which only a single candidate is put forward by all five registered parties can be judged free, fair and inclusive."

Western countries have hung the threat of possible economic sanctions over Nigeria unless a semblance of democracy is restored this year. — Reuters



A man collapses as he waits for United Nations food aid to be distributed in Tisalekhon, Sudan, where famine has put thousands of people at risk. PHOTOGRAPHY COURTESY OF UNICEF

Botha vents fury on his accusers

Alex Davul Smith in Georgia

SHAKING with rage and shouting from his seat, Mr Botha accused his lawyers and slammed his fist against the court sittings. "I have a right to be protected by the court. Unsettled accusations have been made by the witness and distributed throughout the world. I saw it on television."

The former prime minister and president had been brought to George regional court, east of Cape Town, for ignoring a subpoena to appear before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). It wants to question him about his chairmanship of the state security council, which directed undercover operations in the 1980s.

Taking the witness stand for the second day, the TRC's executive secretary, Paul van Zyl, led through state documents which he said indicated that Mr Botha had created a climate conducive to gross human rights violations and which constituted systematic violence.

Mr van Zyl read from the minutes of one meeting of the state security council, which ordered the "identification and elimination of revolutionary leaders, particularly those with charisma."

Another document ordered the "physical destruction of the revolutionary organisations, to which people, facilities or funds, inside the

The Week

CROWDS of supporters greeted Tehran's mayor, Gholamhossein Karbaschi, on his release after 11 nights in detention. His arrest, on corruption charges, sparked widespread protests and a row between moderates and conservatives.

HOPES of progress in talks between North and South Korea in Beijing were dashed when the two sides failed to agree on a deal to freeze four years of deadlock.

COSMIC thunderstorms are raging in the far reaches of space, generating wind speeds of more than 400km a second and temperatures hotter than the Sun.

AVIATION regulators in the US proposed overhauling the wiring of Boeing 737s after investigations into the crash of a TWA 747 airliner, which exploded near New York in 1996, raised doubts about the safety of the fuel monitoring system.

THE International Committee of the Red Cross has announced to send an aid package containing medical supplies, clothes and medicines to 10 relief workers held hostage in Somalia.

BORIS YELTSIN New to Japan, leaving Russia in the hands of Sergei Kiriyenko, who this week faces a third and final vote of confidence as prime minister in the Duma, the opposition-dominated lower house.

IN A man who has been... General Francesco De Martino, one of the country's most senior politicians, was arrested and held on suspicion of profiting from the kidnapping of a friend.

A GENERATION of leftwing terrorism in Germany came to an end when the Red Army Faction, the guerrilla and terrorist organisation born in the radical student revolts of the 1960s, announced it was disbanding.

SUSPECTED separatist guerrillas shot dead 29 people, mostly Hindus, in Kashmir, India's only Muslim majority state.

A BOEING-727 jet with 61 people aboard crashed into mountains on the outskirts of the Colombian capital Bogotá shortly after take-off, leaving no sign of survivors.

THE Nobel prize-winning poet and philosopher Octavio Paz has died in Mexico aged 84.

THE US company Monsanto has not called for genetically modified foods to be separated at source, as stated last week US chemical firm admits the PR experts, page 5.

French seek tax shelter in Britain

EUROPE THIS WEEK
Martin Walker

COLETTE PATONNIER, who runs a small handicrafts salon in Valence in southern France, is an unlikely revolutionary. But her decision to take advantage of Europe's single market rules and register her little company in Britain, thus saving herself some \$18,000 a year in taxes and social security payments, is the stuff of social earthquakes.

The French embassy in London swiftly produced figures to suggest that Britain's low-tax environment was not what it seemed. It pointed out that anything she could enjoy by the French, the British had to pay more for private health insurance and private pensions. In Paris the French government warned Ms Patonniere, and the hundreds of small French businesses who have been following her example, that they face legal action. Registration in Britain was not enough for a French headhunter or a French baker who worked and traded only in France, employing only French people and trading solely in French francs.

Whoops. The days of the French franc are almost over. From next month, when France formally signs up for the single European currency, and from next January when the French government starts keeping its own accounts in euros, the French assertion that the single market has its legal limits will ring even more hollow.

President Jacques Chirac recognized as much in a rare press conference last week. He tried to reassure the French public of their fears of the new currency were "unfounded or excessive", and said that the euro would be the crowbar that would finally pry down the rigid French system of taxes and regulations.

"We have our handicaps, and the French people know it — too much public spending, too much tax, too much bureaucracy. That is why we cannot make a success of Europe without adapting. We need to reform to succeed in Europe," he said. "It's not a question of putting our social benefits at risk, but we have to modernise."

As the French president spoke, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union launched its economic manifesto for the German elections this autumn. The party promised to slash taxes, cutting the basic rate from 26 to 15 per cent, and the maximum rate from 53 to 30 per cent. It was unveiled by Matthias Wissmann, the CDU's economic spokesman, and one of the leaders of a new generation who want to establish a free market identity for their party that is distinct from that of their Social Democrat rivals.

"We need a renaissance of the social market economy with an alliance of soul for hard workers," Mr Wissmann said, making a clear distinction from traditional German corporatism, the old "alliance for work" between unions, business and government.

Ironically, this system owed much to the reformist British military government in the Ruhr in the occupation years after 1945. Now the British model of post-Thatcherism is once again luring Europeans just as the British economy and its exports are starting to stagger under the load of a soaring pound. Sterling is now trading at more than three deutschmarks, a rate that proved unsustainable when Britain was driven out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1992.

The pound is so high because it is seen as an insurance currency, a reliable haven in which to ride out the possible tumults of the euro's introduction.

For richer for poorer

GDP per head, percentage of average, 1992

Region	GDP per head	% of average
London	174	114
South East	127	82
London	108	70
Yorkshire	85	55
North East	74	48
North West	64	41
East of England	64	41
West Midlands	64	41
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Whitehall attempts to foil Net hackers

David Hanks

A TEAM of intelligence agents has been paid to break into the confidential files of cabinet ministers as part of a secret two-month security test to ensure that the launch of Whitehall's first internal computer network this week is safe from hackers.

A team drawn from the security services, the Government's spy listening post, GCHQ, and an elite code-breaking group at the Ministry of Defence have targeted senior members of the Government to ensure ministers can send electronic documents to each other without hackers breaching security.

Among the targets were Tony Blair, the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, the Defence Secretary, George Robertson, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine, and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, David Clark, who is in charge of information technology.

Among documents that hackers are said to have tried to obtain were detailed communications over the defence review, minutes of Cabinet meetings and committees.

The exercise was ordered by Dr Clark after a series of security breaches around the world. A hacker in north London, Richard Pryce, used the code-named Datastream Cowboy to break into US military bases, checking for UFO sightings. Another teenage hacker based in Israel, nicknamed the Analyst, broke into the Pentagon.

The Whitehall system — known as Intranet — will carry hundreds of documents every day from ministers. It aims to provide links between all departments except the Northern Ireland Office in Belfast. The Foreign Office will be linked inside Britain but there will be no access from embassies abroad. Agencies such as the Inland Revenue, Customs and Excise, and Benefits will be connected to the system.

Few of the Cabinet are well versed in using computers, so only their officials will be likely to make

the best use of the system, which will rely on renting a secure section of the Internet from Cable & Wireless and Trusted Intelligence Systems using Microsoft software.

Meanwhile Mr Blair is to go live on the Internet, becoming the first prime minister to conduct an online question-and-answer session.

Downing Street is reopening the No 10 website, including a revival of John Major's "virtual reality" tour of No 10. The Internet Q & A session is the brainchild of Mr Blair's spin doctor team — to show him as "modern and up to date" and "talking to the people".

In fact Mr Blair hardly knows the difference between a modem and a microphone, and prefers sending hand-written notes to officials.

The plan is to have the Internet interview session on April 29 live on TV, with questions earlier sent in by email to Mr Blair.

Ann Clark, who at the age of 71 has become a scrutable subject on the Internet in her local library, put the first question to the Downing Street website.

It was an earnest question from a retired teacher. Would Tony Blair ensure teacher training was properly funded? But she got no instant electronic reply from No 10 — because the demands of publicity meant Mr Blair was standing beside her at the terminal in Croydon library, south London.

The Prime Minister said: "I have a constant sense of humiliation when I see my children at a computer screen." Ms Clark, in contrast, insisted: "It has changed my life."

Croydon's £30 million library was chosen for the launch because it is already the electronic temple which the Government hopes all bigger libraries will become. It has 60 free public Internet terminals which can read 150 CD-ROM information databases, and a multi-media section for children.

Libraries are to receive £68 million of lottery money to form an electronic "national grid for learning" by 2000.

Gobbledegook under attack

John Easdale

THE glib-killing Plain English lobby, which has stripped much of the jargon from Whitehall and British commerce, is being recruited to tackle the ogre's castle of gobbledegook — the European Union.

Despite past attacks on Europe as "the ultimate linguistic nightmare", one of the lobby's leaders has been invited to help the union stop calling cows "grain-consuming animal units".

The bureaucracy which an episode of "in-out collaboration" when it means links between states inside and outside a single currency has asked Martin Cutts to come to Brussels to simplify the task of its translation service.

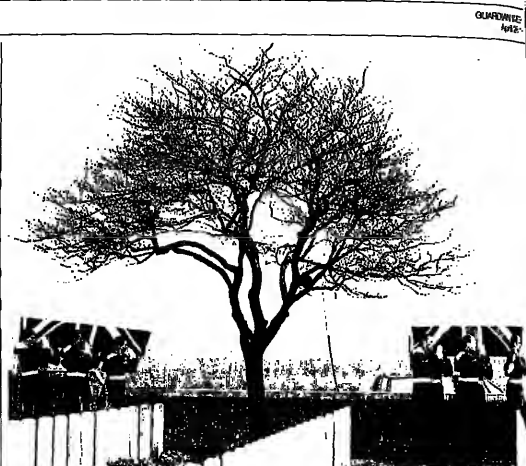
Mr Cutts co-founded the Plain English Campaign, with his survival gobbledegook awards, nearly 20 years ago. So savagely did his Liverpoolian directness sling government departments and groups such as legal and insurance firms that many of them

lured their critics to rewrite standard forms that had baffled the public since Victorian times. Mr Cutts now runs the Plain English Commission. He said plain speaking should be the goal of all those producing "turgid and unreadable" Euro documents.

He is joining the EU as part of Britain's six-month presidency. His mission is not only to help cut translation costs but to improve public understanding. He is expected to run courses to help officials think and write more clearly.

He said: "They should cast off the shackles of the past and never starting a sentence with 'but', 'because' or 'so' and avoiding split infinitives. These ideas are part of the mythology of good English that grew up in the 19th century and at least 400 years."

Mr Cutts's task includes putting a stop to references to streamlined bus and train timetables as "interoperable, inter-modal transport systems".



Last post sounded at Arras

IN A reaffirmed family spirit of sorrow and pride, two British first world war soldiers whose remains were discovered 81 years later, lost week received Christian burial close to where they fell, writes John Easdale.

Frank King, aged 23, and George Anderson, 30, were given named graves in the quiet fields of northern France for the first time since they died in the battle of Arras on April 11, 1917.

At their gravesides as the Last Post sounded stood 119 of their descendants, who were tamed despite the gulf of time and memory. Frank King's niece, Margaret Middleton, aged 69, of Chesterton, Cambridge, said: "It was very moving. I can't imagine what it was like to have fought here on this land. I feel very sad but very proud."

Private King was one of three brothers lost in the war. Also there to honour them was an Arras veteran, Harry Webb, aged 108; the Duke of Kent, a relative in chief of their regiment, the Royal Fusiliers; and the armed forces minister, John Reid.

Interred with them after a full military funeral was a third soldier, identified only as a Royal Fusilier. The three were among 27 victims found in a mass grave by archaeologists looking for Celtic remains on a site to be used for a motorway.

The Government's response to the appeal was to help campaigners who have been active for Campese's closure. Amnesty International was concerned that the minister had acted to act on the recommendation of the judges and not investigation officers. The Government's repeated claim that detention is used only as a last resort, many of these desperate people are locked up before their case is heard," said Amnesty refugee officer, Jan Shaw.

But Mr O'Brien rejected the plea by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that British detention policy breached the 1951 Geneva Convention on Human Rights. "We are absolutely sure we can't

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Trimble faces hard fight after victory

Ewan MacAskill in Belfast and John Mullin in Dublin

UNIONIST Upland leader David Trimble faces the loss of at least one of his MPs as he fights this week to head the deep in his parliamentary party over the Northern Ireland political settlement.

The embarrassment of his disciplinary problems with his smallest MPs contrasts with the resounding victory he achieved last weekend when the party's ruling council voted by 73 per cent in favour of the deal.

It marked a historic turning point for the party, which is remodelling itself and is discarding much of its old "No surrender" baggage. The vote boosted the chances of a "yes" vote in the May 22 referendum.

Shin Féin, at its annual conference in Dublin, delayed a decision on the settlement until a special conference next month, a sign of the difficulties the party faces with its own dissidents.

The Shin Féin president, Gerry Adams, signalled that the party intended to acquiesce in the deal and put up candidates for the new Northern Ireland Assembly, a move that will require a change to the party constitution and will enrage traditional republicans.

Last week the Irish government sent nine IRA prisoners to the Shin Féin camp in a move seen as a gesture of goodwill to sceptical hardliners. The move infuriated unionists, who were already concerned that the accord conceded too much to republicans.

One of the Ulster Unionist rebels, Willie Thompson, MP for West Down, insisted he will defy Mr Trimble and campaign with the Rev Ian Paisley, leader of the rival Democratic Unionist party, against the settlement.

In an extraordinary move, he gave an ultimatum to his con-

stituency association to either back or sack him. Early indications were that Mr Thompson has taken an unnecessary gamble, with the constituency association chairman saying it was impossible to predict.

If I lose the support of the constituency association, I would cease to be an Ulster Unionist MP but it does not mean I would cease to be a Member of Parliament," said Mr Thompson.

Others among the 30 Ulster Unionist MPs are also threatening to defy the leadership line. A senior party source said: "We are prepared to kiss goodbye to Thompson, but we want to keep the others aboard."

Mr Trimble will look to Tony Blair for further help in persuading his MPs to accept the deal. Mr Blair will shortly announce details of the independent inquiry into reform of the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

The inquiry is likely to be similar to a royal commission, the kind of framework Mr Trimble had been pushing for and an important concession for him to present to his MPs.

Mr Trimble this week will meet senior party officials to discuss strategy for the referendum and the subsequent Northern Ireland Assembly elections.

A poll in Ireland's Sunday Independent magazine at 50 per cent. Sinn Féin's leadership requires a two-thirds majority at the special conference to change the party's constitution to enable it to take seats in the Assembly. There was some nervousness, but the betting is that it will succeed.

Mr Adams said: "A defensive strategy will not achieve our ends. It will enslave the struggle. We need to take the initiative and to take the struggle to our opponents in every way. This will mean taking risks."

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Police chief refuses to go after flawed inquiry

Lawrence Donagan

THE chief constable of Grampian police remained defiantly in his post on Tuesday despite an unprecedented demand from Donald Dewar, the Scottish Secretary, that he resign after his force was accused of maladministration, neglect and incompetence.

Ian Oliver, aged 58, once tipped as a future head of the Metropolitan police, accused Mr Dewar of political interference after the minister said he should "pack his bags and go".

Grampian police was heavily criticised in a report into its investigation of the murder of Scott Simpson by convicted paedophile Steven Leisk last July.

The inquiry, headed by Lothian's deputy chief constable, Graham Power, concluded there was "serious corporate failure" in Grampian's conduct of the investigation. It accused officers of "lacking professional rigour" in following up vital evidence and concluded there was a failure of leadership in the force.

The findings were welcomed by Dennis Simpson, the dead boy's father.

Mr Dewar expressed sympathy for the Simpson family. He described the findings as deeply



Ian Oliver reacts to the results of the inquiry into the Simpson case

disturbing and said they presented a picture of a police force lacking in leadership. "The buck stops at the top and I believe that Dr Oliver should pack his bags and go now."

Leisk, who had four previous convictions for sexual offences against children, was jailed for life after pleading guilty to the killing. Police were unaware that Leisk lived next to a playing field in Aberdeen where Scott was last seen alive, and officers failed to find the victim's body, despite searching the area where it was only partially hidden.

Mr Power concluded that the

Grampian force's assessment of its own conduct, requested by Scottish Office ministers after the trial, lacked objectivity and "invites speculation that it is intended to draw the mind away from the truth".

On the day an independent report was due to be published on the case, Dr Oliver chose to remain in favour at a police conference.

He said he accepted all but two of the 36 recommendations and conclusions made in the report — the corporate failure of his force and the implication that his officers had attempted to cover up their failures.

A member of a devout evangelical order in Grampian, he announced earlier this year that he intended to leave his post in late May after being photographed kissing a female member of the congregation.

The Scottish State has powers to disavow a chief constable, but political sources concede that it was unlikely Dr Oliver would leave his post unless he chose to do so.



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Ethics clash over political funding

David Hencke

A ROW over whether the state should pay for political activity dominated the opening day of Lord Neill's inquiry into party funding last week.

The chairman of the Committee on Standards in Public Life was presented with contradictory evidence from a constitutional expert, Vernon Bogdanor, and the free market Adam Smith Institute on the role of the state.

Lord Neill's committee launched its inquiry last month — in the wake of the furore in November over Labour's links with Formula One motor racing chief Bernie Ecclestone — following a request from the Prime Minister.

Mr Ecclestone was at the centre of controversy over his £1 million donation to Labour before the election and the subsequent row over tobacco sponsorship in grand prize racing. The money was later returned to him.

The party also pledged an independent review of party funding and a ban on foreign donations to political organisations.

Mr Bogdanor, professor of government at Oxford University, called for public funding of political parties to "achieve greater parity in our public life". He proposed that public funding of the parties should be linked to an index of party activity, such as membership.

He told the committee that parties should rely less on company and trade union donations, and cash from wealthy individuals. He said

the public would always distrust the motives of people — even if they were innocent — who gave £1 million or more to parties. "They would be seen as trying to buy influence," he also called for national limits on spending to deter corruption during an election campaign and for large donations to be declared.

Stuart Barrow, from the Adam Smith Institute, warned the committee against using more taxpayers' money to fund politicians. He said all donations over £1,000 should be declared on the Internet, and parties' accounts checked annually by auditors. But he was against limits on donations, a ban on foreign donations, or limits on cash for campaign.

He also called for the present constituency limits on spending to be lifted. Any imprudence, he claimed, could be weeded out by auditors and investigative journalists.

The committee will hold hearings two days a week in London until mid-May and then visit Belfast, Edinburgh and Cardiff. It will report by September, in time for the Government to legislate in the next session of Parliament.

The exiles, expatriates who have taken up foreign citizenship and European Union citizens who have not registered to vote in British elections could all find themselves prohibited from donating cash.

The strongest opposition to the foreign funding ban has come from the Scottish National party whose most prominent donor is film star Sean Connery, who lives in Marbella, Spain.

Teachers demand hours cut

John Garvel

B RITAIN'S biggest teaching union delivered a slap in the face to David Blunkett, the Education and Employment Secretary, when it called for extensive industrial action to achieve the equivalent of four days of classroom teaching a week.

The National Union of Teachers' conference in Blackpool defied the advice of its leadership and voted by a narrow majority for a week of protest action in the autumn.

This could include refusal to teach classes with more than 30 pupils, no cover for absent colleagues and no more than one after-school staff meeting. Teachers may also limit their week to 35 hours.

The decision cannot be implemented without the support of at least 80,000 of the union's 190,000 members in a ballot. Moderate members of the executive said such support would not be forthcoming.

The conference vote was a rebuff to Mr Blunkett's impassioned appeal for teachers to abandon their victim mentality and become partners in his campaign for higher standards. But Doug McAvoy, the NUT's general secretary, called for "constructive engagement" with a popular government to achieve change by force of argument and solid research.

Most delegates supported a campaign to promote a national teachers' charter, including an 11-point manifesto for improving conditions of employment. It would give teachers the right to spend 20 per cent of the working week out of the class-

room on marking, preparation of lessons and administration. This would be equivalent to a day a week.

Moderate members of the executive supported the demands, but quarrelled with the tactics. "An action not supported by the members will give the wrong message to the Government and local education authorities about our determination as a union to achieve a new contract for teachers," said Jerry Glazier, an Essex teacher who heads the salaries committee.

But Will Reese, on the executive of the leftwing Socialist Teachers Alliance, said the week of action would put pressure on the Government by drawing attention to teachers' excessive workload. "That is not threatening the life chances of children. It is defending the education service."



Sliding the issue... a 'confident, post-feminist feeling' has replaced business PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS HARRIS

Girls take on the boys in the playground

S UREPTITIOUS note-taking in a sample of British playgrounds has revealed a new breed of primary schoolgirl, and a robust ability of traditional games to absorb the contributions of "teletext" girls.

"There is an admirable 'We can do it' centre-stage feeling about the girls' play which simply wasn't there 10 years ago," that figure fell to 88 per cent of those registering in 1995.

Ms Hunko said nursing had to be made more attractive in terms of pay, training and job satisfaction, which meant nurses taking more control of health care.

At the same time leading doctors are warning that the public will suffer if nearly 1,000 jobs in general practice remain unfilled.

"We are facing a crisis of recruitment and retention," said John Chisholm, chairman of the General Medical Services Committee of the British Medical Association, which represents the country's 32,000 GPs. "It is worse than we have seen at any time since the early 1980s."

Hundreds of GPs are retiring early while the newly qualified

from their traditional, usually football-based dominance. In a sample of British playgrounds has revealed a new breed of primary schoolgirl, and a robust ability of traditional games to absorb the contributions of "teletext" girls.

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY
APR 26 1998

Academic debunks Diana's saintliness

Luka Harding

A RIGHTWING philosophy professor took a sledgehammer to the saintly reputation of Diana, Princess of Wales, in a book published last week.

Professor Anthony O'Hear of Bedford University denounces Diana as a symbol of "false Britain" and says she was a muddled, self-absorbed woman who damaged herself and the monarchy.

Faking it — The Sentimentalisation of Modern Society is published by the right-leaning think-tank, the Social Affairs Unit. The book, which includes essays by academics on politics, art, religion and even

eating habits — depicts Britain as a land of sentimentality and self-indulgence.

"Today's Britain is not 'modern', let alone 'cool'. It is a fake society with fake institutions," says the book's editors. "The society's defining moment was Princess Diana's funeral, in which sentimentality — not grief — was personified and canonised, the elevation of feelings above reason, reality and restraint."

In his debunking chapter on Diana, "Queen of Hearts", Professor O'Hear castigates her "obsession with her own feelings". He accuses her of a "childlike self-centredness" and a failure to understand her public role. He coins a new term —

emotionally correct — to describe Diana's self-regarding choice of good causes to support.

Several charities and Conservative grandees condemned the book. "It seems to me a farrago of nonsense. The Princess of Wales is one of the great figures of our time," said the former Tory minister, Lord St John of Fawley. Professor O'Hear was a "desecrated calculator" and his opinions "uninformed".

But Peter Mullen, the book's co-editor and an Anglican clergyman in the diocese of York, described Diana as "extremely self-indulgent and infantile. She believed the expression of one's feelings to be

the be-all and end-all." He compared modern Britain to the "Roman Empire in its last days... when it lived on the sentimental recollection of past glories".

Professor O'Hear described Diana's death as "possibly the most remarkable, most surprising event of my lifetime". He wanted to understand why so many people got caught up in the emotion.

The philosopher has previously attacked environmentalists, "indoctrinating" teachers, and playwrights who use "decadent" material. Meanwhile Earl Spencer said he felt "battered" by claims that he was profane from the death of his sister. He also disclosed that he has

borrowed several million pounds to fund the transformation of Althorp, his ancestral estate in Northamptonshire, into a shrine to Diana.

The earl has faced widespread criticism over his decision to charge £250 for admission to the Diana memorial museum. But in an attempt to head off public unease, he pledged to publish the museum's accounts. There is still confusion as to what percentage of the admission fee will be given to charity.

● Buckingham Palace is asking Britain's biggest companies to supply a public relations supremo to help overhaul the palace's out-of-touch image. A City headhunter has written to the chairman of 100 companies to ask if they will provide a senior communications expert on secondment to the palace for at least three years.

Death ends rock-solid partnership

OBITUARY

Linda McCartney

THE photographer, cook and sometime musician Linda McCartney, who has died of cancer aged 56, ended, and eventually overcame her critics.

She withstood the hostility of the public sections of the British public who saw in her 1959 marriage to the supposedly cute Beatle Paul his endorsement by a New York carpet-bagger. She played on amid the derision of reviewers when she

devoted from photographing rock stars to try to be one with her husband's post-Beatles band Wings in the 1970s. And if her conversion to vegetarianism — shared by her husband and children — was once

seen as a fashionable fad, it became an article of faith. Out of countless cottage pie came forth a multi-million-pound cottage industry, in Britain and the United States.

Linda McCartney was born the second of four children, of show business lawyer Lee Eastman. She grew up in Scarborough, in a background which exposed her to the New York world of the 1950s.

She was a 19-year-old at an undistinguished Vermont college when her husband died in a plane crash. In the aftermath she married a geologist and had a child, Heather. The marriage crumbled when her husband went to Africa. She moved to London, studied art history and, inspired by the classic Dorseties Lang

photographs of migrant workers, began taking pictures, photographing the Rolling Stones, Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin and the Beatles.

She met McCartney in a London club and was impressed by the Beatle's politeness that hung in his house. They got married in 1968, and she became a devoted mother of their three children.

She said she was converted to vegetarianism while on their farm in 12,000 to the pound. The couple eloped on the day of the rock show in London in 1968. It is a story to the pound.

Other universities, such as Nottingham, are waiving tuition fees for some applicants for Masters degrees.

Dr Neil Kemp, the Indonesian director of the British Council, said: "Linda McCartney was a brilliant and generous person who does not want to lose this."

Wigil Fountain
Linda McCartney, photographer and food writer, died on September 24, 1997, at age 56, after a long battle with cancer.

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If peace is to be achieved in Northern Ireland it will need not only new political mechanisms but complete overhaul in attitudes. The case is often made for Protestants to acknowledge and respect the traditions of the nationalist community. Less often heard is the case for the nationalist community giving equal respect to the Protestant tradition. Both sides will have to learn to be less selective in their history, and instead accept—and perhaps in time take pride in—both traditions.

China sends a small signal

Yet beyond the immediate advantage to those involved — even the bravest endurance has its limits — may there not be some more general benefit? Both the US and the European Union (led by Brinlo) argue that such cases reflect a relocation of Brinlo's attitude towards human rights, and that this justifies their own softer approach towards the mine. The list of political dissidents presented seems to be short one. By that standard the reduction of one or two names would be a discrediting of local opposition compared with Amnesty International's list of many hundreds. The release of Mr Wei and of Mr Wang may have upset some

Britain's mess over migrants

around Fortresses Europe have done, turned to a policy of deterrence. The Conservatives shamefully withdrew welfare benefits from most asylum seekers and stepped up sharply its use of detention. More than 800 are now held, split between detention centres and prisons. As the Chief Inspector of Prisons, Sir David Ramsbotham, noted in his report on the troubled Campsfield House, near Oxford, the system is overloaded.

The centre would be held in the belief that detainees would be held for no more than 14 days. Instead they are often detained for more than six years. The vast majority are held without charge, trial or judicial review, and they endure the "no-

man's land" cruelly or not even knowing the date of their release. They are detained on the say-so of an independent court but of a senior immigration officer, based on almost arbitrary and complex criteria. They are not even given written reasons for their incarceration. All of this underlines Sir David's conclusion that the criteria and process of detention need to be examined to ensure that "they are readily understood by all involved and that detention is used for the shortest possible time".

The best way to reduce the injustices caused by arbitrary detention is to tackle the massive backlog so that the genuine refugee is not made to suffer for months of even years, hoping for a decision. While we wait for that to happen the minimum judicial safeguards must be introduced to end this national scandal of mass detention without charge or trial.

A grisly triumph of theory over people

Martin Woollacott

It is worth remembering that the actions of the Klonner Rouge then came as a surprise to many who afterwards wondered why they had not known better. They included the two columns in the southern part of the United States. A year ago, were talking of a coalition government in which both the Klonner Rouge and non-communist politicians would play a part, or at least of a "controlled solution"—"an orderly transfer of power, honourable arrangements for the disarming of groups, the ending of the present financial bank and no faith.

But the essence of what was then misunderstood is worth restating. It was the power of ideas over people, the triumph of theory over flesh and blood. The simplified version of

Many of the leaders of this terrible campaign are still with us. They include Ieng Sary, one of the Khmer Rouge's three founding figures who defected to the government two years ago and has even founded a political party, and such lesser men as Ke Pauk, a more recent defector, reckoned to be responsible for slaughtering the Cambodian Muslim community. They may soon include Ta Mok, leader of the Khmer Rouge rump, said to be gloating with Hun Sen, the former Khmer Rouge commander who has run Cambodia since he tipped off his co-premier, Prince Ranariddh, last July.

SOME of the ordinary men and women who conducted their own private reign of terror within the larger terror of the Khmer Rouge survived. They were the backbone of the regime, the people's servants who had all their lives been equipped with gold teeth, the military and political position within the Khmer Rouge structure. They interspersed their enjoyment of the privileges with regular sessions of torture and execution. That they eventually often became victims of their Khmer Rouge witch-hunts, that of that government's inhuman demands, or, after the Vietnamese invasion of 1979, of those they had terrorised, does not excuse their participation. What explains their part, was the horrendous division of Cambodia society, made deadly by war and US bombing, and the war-torn country.

With or without a Pol Pot trial, we understand enough about Cambodia to sense some connections between its pathology and the appearance in places such as Serbia, Bosnia or Algeria. The Cambodia-Yugoslavia Zero, seen, at the time as a communist movement gone wrong, was more to do with a widely shared realistic form of regressive nationalism, combining the purification of its leaders with the anger and alienation of a large rural population to produce terrible results. Although every case is different, and the world does move, similar things can happen again, are happening. It is an indication how little, still, we know about the destructive forces that Bosnia and Algeria were almost as much as Nigeria as Cambodia was in 1975.

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'Long view' that leaves businessmen short

OPINION

Andrew Higgins

THERE is a shameful secret at the heart of China's relations with the outside world. It has nothing to do with Tiananmen Square or other voices of dissent muffled by ringing cash registers. Mending money is what the world's biggest market is all about. There is no shame about that, say the hard-headed champions of reality over romance. Shameful, though, at least to shareholders, is a truth that many companies in China prefer to keep secret: instead of making money they are losing it.

The problem is usually hidden behind banquet smiles and pledges of long-term commitment. This is nothing new. The seductive power of China's size has long scrambled sound judgment.

In his first issue in October 1995, Hong Kong's Far Eastern Economic Review, reporting on a British trade mission to China, said: "Foreign economic experts in China are not optimistic about immediate promotion of foreign trade with China, so that one has to take the 'long view'."

Half a century on, the chasm between future potential and current

profit gaps as wide as ever for many British and other Western firms.

Taking the long view has become the anthem of the China trade. Beijing has pulled off an extraordinary coup. Businessmen have become its most dogged allies abroad. Whether in the White House, Downing Street or the Ellys, the Chinese Communist Party's corporate cheerleaders lobby loyally, urging their governments to take a long view.

Peering doggedly into a forever receding horizon is Britain's Cable & Wireless. It did everything it could to crack a market so elusive it is almost mythical. It sold part of its most valuable property, Hong Kong Telecom, to Chinese interests last summer. It recruited Lord Howe, the former British foreign secretary, to pull strings.

Beijing was delighted. "How's worth wake up people of Hong Kong opposition is useless," read a headline in the party's main Hong Kong mouthpiece. But like many first-time Chinese executives, Richard Brown, spoke excitedly about "future co-operation on a wide range of telecommunications ventures."

The result so far, nothing.

Rupert Murdoch has scarcely more to show for his prodding. His decision to axe Chris Patten's book may have cheered a few bureaucrats in Beijing but it gravely damaged his reputation in the countries

months of this year further dim the prospects for profit.

Anywhere else there would be a stampede for the door. Not in China. Companies tell their shareholders to take a "long view."

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Rupert Murdoch has scarcely more to show for his prodding. His decision to axe Chris Patten's book may have cheered a few bureaucrats in Beijing but it gravely damaged his reputation in the countries

where he makes his real money. Occasionally patience annoys. The United States company Caterpillar has just finished a messy divorce with a Chinese partner in Shanghai. It pulled out after losing millions. General Electric has waged a noisy feud with a Chinese light-bulb plant. But while foreign businessmen grumble in hotel bars across China, most wear fixed smiles for their public outings.

The Chinese Communist Party, by contrast, keeps an unflinching eye on its own economic and political self-interest.

When the head of what used to be western Europe's biggest communist party, Massimo d'Alema of the Italian Party of the Democratic Left, visited Beijing last week he tried to probe his hosts' beliefs beyond the bottom line. He got nowhere.

"I asked about the ideological situation in the party and they did not answer," he said. "All they wanted to talk about was economic growth, the amount of investment, the number of cars... It was all just business."

Until the West takes a similarly clear view of its own business, neither companies nor human rights will profit.

In Brief

FOLLOWING a tense meeting of G7 finance ministers in Washington, the United States reported an all-time record \$1.2 billion trade deficit, while Japan revealed a trade surplus of \$9.4 billion for March, a 57 per cent increase on the corresponding period last year. US officials blamed the poor figures on a continued fall-off in exports to battered economies in Asia. Japan has agreed to take steps to boost domestic demand.

THANKS partly to its dilemma, Botswana had the fastest-growing economy over the past three decades — per capita income grew at 9.2 per cent from 1985-86 — followed by South Korea and China, according to a World Bank report. World Development Indicators 1998 gives an upbeat picture of the developing world, but says sub-Saharan Africa is not expected to meet growth targets to reduce poverty by half by 2015.

THE new European Central Bank is to be answerable to elected officials after an agreement between the European Parliament and the legislatures of the 15 member states, but the European Union is still wrangling over the bank's first head.

GRIN and Finmeccanica of Italy unveiled plans for a move Westland and Agusta in a merger that would create the world's second-largest helicopter maker, with expected annual sales of \$1.6 billion.

BRITAIN'S public sector borrowing requirement for 1997-98 fell to \$1.5 billion, the lowest level for seven years, says the UK Chancellor, Gordon Brown, as he, to relax his tight grip on public spending.

CHURTAUD, one of Britain's oldest corporate names, has agreed to sell to \$3 billion takeover by Alko Nibel, the Dutch chemicals group.

VOLKSWAGEN is planning to roll out the bid battle for Rolls-Royce Motors despite BMW's win in a private election.

	FOREIGN EXCHANGES	
	March 20	March 21
Australia	2.9777-0.0011	2.9526-0.0001
Canada	21.27-0.29	21.31-0.15
France	62.45-0.05	62.48-0.05
Germany	2.3528-0.0001	2.3528-0.0001
Italy	1.1625-0.0011	1.1624-0.0001
Japan	10.15-0.14	10.16-0.14
Netherlands	13.55-0.01	13.55-0.01
New Zealand	1.1889-0.0011	1.1889-0.0001
Sweden	2.088-0.002	2.088-0.002
Switzerland	2.01-0.001	2.01-0.001
UK	1.6781-0.0001	1.6781-0.0001
US	1.0781-0.0001	1.0781-0.0001
EURO	1.6781-0.0001	1.6781-0.0001

Source: Reuters. All times are GMT. All rates are for 100 units of foreign currency against 100 units of sterling.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
April 26 1998

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April 26 1998

The same law for farmers

EDITORIAL

ONE had grown accustomed to the annual spectacle of strawberry growers from the Gironde valley attacking Spanish lorries. This year there has been a change. Britain cauliflower growers have caused more than \$1 million worth of damage to railway installations. And, as often happens when farmers from the Brittany *departements* of Finistère and Côtes-d'Armor vent their anger, they have done so with a violence that is out of all proportion and quite unjustifiable.

The fruit and vegetable sector, which gets less media coverage than cereals or beef, is fragmented and ill-equipped to resist pressures from middlemen, wholesalers and bands of buying groups. Although dominated by Italy and Spain, it remains a vital source of income and jobs in several French regions. Cavallon, St-Paul-de-Léon, Marmande and Perpignan owe their reputation to the quality of their melons, cauliflowers, cormorants and leeks.

It is a sector that is highly vulnerable to climate conditions, which can disrupt growing as well as consumption (as they have in the cauliflower trade, where over-supply has coincided with falling demand). It is also a sector that suffers from high welfare costs, and which cannot rely on its export trade as heavily as some other branches of agriculture. In short, it is a hard hit by imports.

The fury of the vegetable growers is understandable given the huge European Union subsidies paid out to cereal growers in the



Dumped cauliflowers block a road near Morlaix in Brittany last week during a protest by farmers. PHOTO FRANK PIVEL

fertile Beauce plain or stock-breeding in the Massif Central. The imminent reform of the Common Agricultural Policy hardly concerns them, since the common organisation of the market in their particular sector was introduced last year. It forces vegetable growers, among other things, to dip into their pockets whenever the EU helps them.

This latest report of the French farmers' union, FNSEA, notes that "producers are going to have to discipline themselves".

Destroying railway signalling systems and burning vehicles are not the best way of making those who resort to such methods. The fast-shrinking farming sector continues to receive, through times and the EU budget, an amount of aid that re-

ceals farmers' union leaders persist in regarding — wrongly — as established rights. Such aid was perhaps not always granted as fairly as it might have been. That is why the present process of redistributing state aid is a step in the right direction.

The farming minister, Louis Le Pensec, and the budget minister, Maryline Lebranchu, have been quick to condemn the damage caused by Breton farmers, while still keeping the lines of communication open. They have shown the government's determination not to allow farmers to enjoy an exorbitant degree of tolerance. Law and order should be the rule in the countryside, just as it is in schools and suburban housing estates.

(April 14)

Food crisis overshadows Korea talks

Philippe Pons in Tokyo

ON APRIL 11, just after a team of French doctors belonging to Médecine Sans Frontières (MSF) had reported evidence of starving civilians have also been involved in acts of violence and looting. It is reported that corpses have been abandoned by the roadside, and that disease is rampant among the debilitated population.

The North Korean authorities have admitted that the situation has worsened. Last week Pyongyang Radio took to the "grave wounds" of the way food reserves are running out. "We have no food," it said, "but we need to continue the fight, so as to narrow our differences of viewpoint."

One of the topics under discussion in the negotiations between the Agency France-Press news agency, Jon Kim-chol, the head of the North Korean delegation, said: "We have reached an agreement in principle, but we need to continue the fight, so as to narrow our differences of viewpoint."

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responded to the appeal by promising 200,000 tonnes. At the end of March, in the course of the talks between Red Cross organisations in the two Koreas, South Korea pledged to supply 50,000 tonnes. The first consignments of that aid are due to arrive this week.

But the great unknown factor, which could put off donors and delay deliveries, is the question of who the beneficiaries of that aid should be. Will it go to the population at large, or be given first to the regime's elite and the army?

Delegates questioned by MSF doctors have said that only a strict minimum of foodstuffs and medicines are reaching the civilian population. "Foreigners came to check that cereals were being distributed to the population," a Chinese teacher from the border town of Jechon explained to MSF. "But after they had gone, the government collected the sacks and no more was heard of the food aid."

Speaking in Beijing on April 12, a member of the North Korea Red Cross said that the WFP might reduce its food aid to Pyongyang if the authorities there continue to prevent donor countries from monitoring the final destination of their consignments.

(April 14)

to visit North Korea that acts of cannibalism have taken place.

According to the MSF report, published in Beijing on April 11, starving civilians have also been involved in acts of violence and looting. It is reported that corpses have been abandoned by the roadside, and that disease is rampant among the debilitated population.

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(April 14)

Millions made jobless

ASIA'S economic ertale is throwing millions out of work, wiping out years of progress against poverty and raising social unrest. The International Labour Organisation warned last week, writes Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong.

It predicted that unemployment would triple in Indonesia, Thailand and South Korea, the countries hardest hit by the turmoil that began last year on foreign exchange markets. The currencies have largely stabilised but the social pain and risk of political instability will increase in the coming months.

The collapse of what had been rapidly rising economic expectations and the absence of any safety net in most Asian countries has created a "fertile ground for breeding social unrest", and the report, which will be presented to trade union and government officials in Bangkok next week.

Most vulnerable are migrant workers and women, the backbone of a cheap, mobile and docile labour force that powered the region's now sputtering "economic miracle". The number of migrant labourers grew from about a million in the early 1980s to more than 6.5 million last year, many of whom now face not only unemployment but expulsion as the factories that employ them seize up.

The World Bank said last week that the number of Indonesians living in poverty would more than double to 20 million. With the exception of South Korea, Asian countries have weak labour movements and a legacy of authoritarian traditions. China and Indonesia, east Asia's biggest countries, permit only state-controlled unions.

Asia's jobless rate is unlikely to go beyond the highest levels seen in western Europe or the former Soviet bloc, but is potentially more explosive because of the weak or non-existent welfare provisions.

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Students confront police in Bandung, in Indonesia. PHOTO: KIRK PAVAT

Euro set to be criminals' currency of choice

Mark Atkinson

CRIMINALS the world over will soon be able to pack their stash away in much smaller suitcases thanks to Europe's planned single currency.

A new study says that once euro banknotes begin circulating in 2002 they will quickly rival dollar bills as the underworld's currency of choice because they are easy to use in higher denominations, allowing the same value of dirty money to be concealed in smaller pieces.

The European Central Bank, which will manage the euro on behalf of the 11 countries expected to use the currency, is aiming to issue notes for 100, 200 and 500 euros — each worth much more

than the highest-denomination US bill, \$100. As a euro/dollar exchange rate of 1.10, the high-value euro notes will correspond to \$110, \$220 and \$550.

Writing in a new book on the euro published last week for the London-based think-tank, Centre for Economic Policy Research, Kenneth Rogoff, of Princeton University, says that of this size is a currency, from a low-denomination economy will be attractive to criminals all over the world.

Instead of lugging thick wads of \$100 bills, criminals, as they do now, they will be able to pack \$1 million worth of 500 euro notes into a handbag. Prof Rogoff says demand for and supply of hard currency banknotes, particularly large-denomination ones, has been growing faster over the past two decades than the economies themselves, despite the development of electronic money.

Since few legitimate business transactions are in cash, and the general public own up to holding only relatively small quantities of banknotes, Prof Rogoff concludes that most of the growth in demand for the development of the black economy and the developing world's appetite for a safe, reliable currency.

He estimates that 25-30 per cent of the \$1.3 trillion supply of currency now, they will be able to pack \$1 million worth of 500 euro notes into a handbag. Prof Rogoff says demand for and supply of hard currency banknotes, particularly large-denomination ones, has been growing faster over the past two decades than the economies themselves, despite the development of electronic money.

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Some of that demand is above-board. Dollars are in wide use in Latin America, especially Argentina, where official shipments of dollar bills during the 1990s have exceeded \$60 billion, and in the former Soviet bloc, and more than \$60 billion has been shipped to Russia in recent years. But other heavy users of dollars include the mafia and drug barons.

Prof Rogoff suggests the ECB should either cancel its plans for large-denomination banknotes or place reporting requirements on them. The decision to issue the high-denomination notes in the first place was designed to accommodate Germany, which issues D-Marks up to a face value of DM1,000 (\$540) each.

"EMU: Prospects and Challenges for the Euro, published by Blackwell.

Le Monde

Guinea cracks down on the opposition

Thomas Sottin in Abidjan

THE political stability of the West African country of Guinea has been slowly deteriorating during the run-up to the presidential election, due in December.

First, journalists were arrested or expelled; now there has been a crackdown on opposition members of parliament. On April 14, five of them were arrested and jailed despite the parliamentary immunity to which they are entitled according to both the constitution and the internal regulations of the national assembly.

One of the arrested men is BA Mamadou, leader of the National Union of Republicans (UNR), who was expelled by the other opposition parties to lead the Co-ordination of Democratic Opposition grouping.

Guinea is widely regarded as the West African country most likely to experience the kind of turmoil that recently devastated Liberia and Sierra Leone.

A scintillating army that almost overthrew President Lansane Conté in 1996, political parties structured themselves along ethnic lines, and an economy that has still not recovered from the damage it suffered during Sekou Touré's 25-year dictatorship are all factors that excite antagonism and encourage violence.

Mamadou and two other UNR members of parliament were arrested after violent clashes at the end of March between security forces and the inhabitants of the Kpato district on the outskirts of the capital, Conakry.

The trouble began with a "clearance" operation of the kind that regularly takes place in all African capital cities: bulldozers were sent in to demolish a shanty town and make way for a motorway and an administrative complex.

But according to Thierno Madiou Sow, president of the Guinean Human Rights Organisation, the demolition gangs were "accompanied by women who hurled abuse at the civilians and looted their property. The district is mostly inhabited by Fulah from the region of Fouta Djallon.

With support of their lineage — Guinea is 90 per cent Muslim — inhabitants reacted to the trouble by chanting songs that date from the 17th century, when the Fulah nobility waged a series of holy wars that excised the population of the region of Fouta Djallon.

In the following days the authorities arrested the three members of parliament who had been expelled. They also arrested the UNR's main Fulah party, including Mamadou, on charges of "complicity in murder". They claimed it was a case of *fitna* — a civil war, even though Mamadou, for example, was not present during the clashes.

It later transpired that two members of the Rally of the Guinean People (RPG), a mainly Mameluk party, had also been arrested during a political meeting. The names of the opposition in Guinea consist of two large ethnic groups, the Fulah and the Mameluk.

(April 16)

who form the majority of the population in Fouta Djallon and Upper Guinea respectively.

President Conté and some members of his entourage are Susu from the coastal region. The exercise of authority and the resulting leverage it provides have enabled them to establish a power base that is out of all proportion to the size of the Susu community, which is very small.

For the time being, the more moderate members of the president's camp — the prime minister, Sylla Touré, and the president of the national assembly, Souheila Brio Diallo — have failed to react to the jailing. This suggests that hardliners in Conté's entourage are now getting their way.

General Conté, who came to power following Sekou Touré's death in 1984 after being chosen as leader by his fellow officers because he was the longest-serving high-ranking officer, has already unveiled his is a political survivor.

In 1993, after a poll marked by considerable violence, Conté was elected president under circumstances that were questioned not only by his opponents but by international observers.

In 1996 he was almost killed in the course of a mutiny that turned into an attempted coup. The trial of the rebels, which opened last February, once again revealed the lamentable state of an army, which is badly paid and demoralised by its peacekeeping interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone, during which soldiers were able to compare their situation with that of their counterparts in other countries in the region.

A DVOCATES of dialogue and a less headline approach seem unable to prevent the country from falling apart after the attempted coup of 1996. Conté created the post of prime minister, to which he appointed Touré, an economist who had spent all of his career up to then in Ivory Coast.

As soon as he took office Touré decided to end the tradition of bureaucratic conservatism that had plagued the country since the colonial system and Sekou Touré's "revolutionary" ideology.

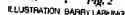
Within months he had provided Conté with electricity, a feat that earned him the nickname "Sydia Current" among the population. But very soon Conté reportedly took umbrage at the popularity of a ministerial reshuffle, that robbed Touré of much of his power.

Similarly Diallo, who is president of the UNR (the main opposition party), of the national assembly, where Conté's Popular Unity Party (PUP) has a comfortable majority, has succeeded in creating a good working environment — untroubled elsewhere in the region — opposition deputies, for example, have been able to get bills adopted.

It now looks as though these achievements are doomed. Guinea is a country that has always delighted the prophets of doom. This time it looks as though they are about to have a field day.

(April 16)

the "wild by design" idea was subject of a recent seminar Newcastle run by the Council National Parks (CNP). The seminar skirted round the problem of "wild" and "design" being mutually exclusive — how something be truly wild if it been designed? Instead, the seminar promoted current



Encouraging wild lands to be more wild is not a new idea, but it's certainly one that is generating debate in a world increasingly characterised by intensive agricultural production and urbanisation. People need wild nature as an antidote. But this may also be part of the problem. When nature is seen as

radical conservationists. Rain, snow and storms this month have brought the worst floods to parts of England for more than 150 years. This is a sure sign, if such was needed, that despite the best laid plans and good intentions of those who want to confine wild nature to designated ghettos in the deeper countryside, it will always find a way out.

Bask at Fide's, its millionaire president. Kirkian Ilyumzhinov, says his next \$5 million world championship will be staged in Las Vegas late this year, rather than next. If, as Ilyumzhinov tentatively is approaching his second term, he will compete with the U.S. and not polo rather than be allowed a special challenge match, we expect him to keep his title. At Cornwallish Adams: the 36-year-old Cornwallish Adams has reached a 100 rating, the first Briton to do so since the March rankings up to his level.

Solar wind blows away

not left the trigger; the lever on the side of the AK-47 was on automatic the safety catch was off.

some on canes, grinning toothless smiles, keenly watched the youngster's moves. The boy knew it and

The old man muttered to himself, hobbled out to the proud little sentry, grabbed him by the ear and



Yet its origins were obscure and its initial impact negligible. Painstakingly assembled from weather satellite data and other astronomical observations, the two Danish meteorologists' report was buried in a few pages of the *Journal of Atmospheric and Solar-Terrestrial Physics* last year. It made little impact at the time, but slowly the paper has acquired a cult status among physicists. And it may yet prove to be a scientific landmark.

The more sunspots there are, the stronger the solar wind, the warmer it gets on Earth — allegedly PHOTOGRAPH: SCIENCE PHOTO LIBRARY

WHAT if the notes of a keyboard instrument, and medieval writers decided, for the same obvious reasons that led to the question, to call their bottom note A. The arrangement of tones and semitones in that system, known as the "greater perfect system", suited the ranges of medieval instruments, which were categorized not by key but by mode: the dorian, phrygian, lydian and mixolydian modes. All three modes use the same ('white') notes, but the chants arrange them differently. It was not until the 16th century that what we now call C major was granted any kind of

is it that makes every-
one and pleasure in pop-
corn bubbles on bubble wrap?
Else is there after acne?
Richard French-Constant.
Wisconsin, USA

Age Group	Percentage of correct responses
10	~75
11	~78
12	~80
13	~82
14	~84
15	~86
16	~88
17	~90
18	~92

—over to you!

cross to the ace of diamonds, and draw the rest of the trumps in peace.

involved. The importance of the work by Svensmark and Friis-Christensen is that they have provided these doubts.

William Herschel noticed that the price of wheat in 18th century England was lower when there were many sunspots and the weather was warm. In the second half of the 17th

urgently sought by the developing world, might have devastating consequences could then be discounted, although other valid concerns about acid rain and ozone depletion would

A NEARLY example took place on

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1997

30 OBITUARY

Ruler of the chasm of darkness

Pol Pot

POL POT, leader of the Khmer Rouge, was one of the most reviled figures of the 20th century. In his four years as prime minister of Democratic Kampuchea, he attempted to remake an impoverished southeast Asian nation into a model of radical Maoism. His paranoia and brutality sent it into a chasm of darkness in which as many as 2 million people died. Pol Pot's enduring legacy is the thousands of mass graves that litter Cambodia, but he was chillingly unrepentant up to his death at the age of 73, saying recently that his "conscience was clear."

Scholars will long debate what drove a man described by those who knew him as gentle and unassuming to create a system under which family life was erased, children became torturers, and even loyal followers of the regime were bludgeoned to death in their thousands.

Pol Pot came to power in April 1975 and set about creating what the Khmer Rouge saw as a rural Utopia without money or private property. The cities were emptied and Cambodia's history began again at Year Zero.

There were few clues in his childhood to explain the violence he unleashed in later life. His father was a moderately wealthy farmer and his mother had connections at the royal court in Phnom Penh. At the age of six he was sent to the city for his education and later attended a boarding school for bright students. In 1946 he was among the first students sent on government scholarships to attend university in France.

His political ideas began to form in Paris, where he avidly studied radical engineering, falling in love with a girl but becoming drawn to the optimistic vision of communism then circulating. In an interview in October 1987 Pol Pot said that in Paris he began reading about the French revolution, spending his scholarship money on second-hand books and copies of the French Communist party newspaper *L'Humanité*.

Opposition to French rule in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos was centered in the Indochina Communist party, which attracted many students at the time. With communist victories in China and across Eastern Europe, Marxism seemed the way to liberate Cambodia from the French. Pol Pot began to attend study sessions organized by the French Communist party. Another person who attended the meetings would later describe him as "the most intelligent, the most convinced, the most intransigent. It was he who animated the debates and most impressed the newcomers."

He returned to Cambodia in 1953, just before the country won its independence under King Sihanouk, who abdicated to take up a position as head of government. It was at this time that his revolutionary fervor developed, he later said. Shocked on his return by the poverty of his relatives, he was driven to political action.

In 1956 he began teaching at a private college where, according to his biographer David Chandler, he was remembered for his "most affable manner and his knowledge of French literature. He was already leading a clandestine life in the Indochina Communist party, building up networks of supporters. In 1960 Sihanouk launched a crackdown on

the communists during which the party's secretary, Tou Samouth, disappeared. Pol Pot stepped into his shoes and emerged as the head of the party's Cambodian section. Accusations would later surface that Pol Pot had conspired in Samouth's murder to clear his route to the top in what was his first act of political violence. Pol Pot, however, denied any role in the killing.

In 1963 he fled to the countryside to lead the resistance against Sihanouk. From then on, he would become "Brother Number One," the shadowy head of the Communist shadow hiding in camps in northeastern Cambodia.

In 1965 he travelled to Hanoi, where tensions were building with the Vietnamese. Pol Pot bristled at what he saw as their superior attitude and demands that the Cambodians hold off from armed struggle against Sihanouk until North Vietnam had won its war against the United States. He later travelled to China, where the Cultural Revolution was swirling up. Pol Pot was said to have been impressed by Mao Zedong's vision of permanent revolution, his harnessing of young, impressionable minds, and the destruction of all vestiges of traditional society.

The armed struggle began in 1968 when Khmer Rouge guerrillas attacked the first cities and police. The situation in Cambodia began to unravel and in 1969 the US began a secret bombing of Vietnamese bases in Cambodia. At the beginning of 1970 Sihanouk fled for his annual cure at a spa in France and was deposed by his chief general, Lon Nol. The new rightwing regime in Phnom Penh garrisoned the Chinese and Vietnamese, previously only lukewarm supporters of Pol Pot, and they stepped up help.

Sihanouk was set up in Beijing as the nominal head of a neutral front against Lon Nol while Pol Pot took command at a base in northeastern Cambodia. He had just a few thousand men under arms, but with Vietnamese weapons and training they were becoming a more effective force. Vietnamese troops, tempered by years of war in their own country, held off offensives by Lon Nol, US bombers took an enormous toll, beating back Khmer Rouge attacks on Phnom Penh in 1975.

A YEAR later the guerrillas formed a noose around the capital. Its population had swollen as people fled there to escape US bombings and the rigid social control imposed in areas under Khmer Rouge control.

The final assault on Phnom Penh began in the dry season in 1975. At the beginning of April Lon Nol fled into exile and the US embassy was hurriedly evacuated. On April 17 Pol Pot's silent soldiers, many of them just teenagers clad in black pajamas, arrived in the city and or-

dered all 2 million people to evacuate. In the intense heat people were forced on to the roads on foot, families were separated in the crush, even hospital wards were savagely cleared. As far as the Khmer Rouge were concerned, they were all enemies.

Only when the city was empty did Pol Pot arrive to take over. He became prime minister in the shadowy government that presided over a smoldering ghost town. He began to work on the Four-Year plan under which Cambodia would make its great leap forward to socialism by 1979. Rice yields would be tripled to three tonnes a hectare and a vast area of land would be planted in the martial jungles of northeastern

Cambodia held dear, unravelling the connections of Buddhism, village life, friends and family.

By 1977 Pol Pot's paranoia had started to fuel a series of rampaging, self-destructive purges. The deaths and torture at Tuol Sleng, a school turned into an interrogation centre named S-21, would be one of the most macabre legacies of his rule and the strongest evidence of his intense pathology. Some 10,000 people, many of them Khmer Rouge cadres and their families, passed through Tuol Sleng, where they were photographed and their confessions kept in well-ordered files.

A neat, clerical attitude contrasted with unimaginable horrors at Tuol Sleng, where teenagers became expert at strapping their victims to metal bed frames and extracting false confessions through torture. The confessions seemed to fulfill Pol Pot's need to see proof that his fantasies of betrayal were real. The documents from S-21, Chandler wrote, "provided his vision of the world — with Cambodia surrounded by enemies and the country itself seen as concentric circles with the party leadership at the centre."

Times of what was happening in Cambodia started to trickle out in 1977 through refugees fleeing to Thailand, but the closed country remained an enigma. Western analysts were only able to connect the dots that Sihanouk, Sar and Pol Pot were the same person when he was photographed on a visit to Beijing. However, hidden by the secrecy of Pol Pot's regime was starting to unravel.

Tensions were rising with the Vietnamese, who had sent troops across the border to retaliate for Cambodian massacres on their side. In December he cut relations with Hanoi and accused Vietnam of aggression. Hanoi, in turn, had remained silent until then, began Thayer. "You look at me from outside, you don't know what I have suffered."

In 1987 he told a group of political students that as long as his followers continued the light against the Vietnamese, he would "die peacefully as a martyr." He was barely capable of fighting now. But Pol Pot leaves behind a regime of terror and a legacy of human misery that will be remembered for generations to come. That day marked the end of what the Cambodians call "the era of the contemptible Pot." But it did not mark the end of his career. Supported by the Thai military, he led a small group on the frontier and rebuilt some of his guerrilla units, although he was supposed to have stepped down as head of the Khmer Rouge in favour of more capable successors. Robert Temple.

Pol Pot (Sihanouk Sar), guerrilla leader and dictator, born January 1928, died April 15, 1998.

Pol Pot (Sihanouk Sar), guerrilla leader and dictator, born January 1928, died April 15, 1998.

view, living in guarded camps along the border and travelling to Beijing for medical treatment for his persistent malaria.

Little is known about his personal life or personality other than descriptions of him as calm and charismatic. He married a woman named Pen Mony in 1966. A somber, austere woman whose sister was married to Khmer Rouge leader Ieng Sary, she would eventually spiral down into madness and spent much of the 1980s in a hospital in Beijing. Pol Pot married for a second time in the 1980s to a peasant woman in her 30s called Sar. She bore him his only child, a daughter born in 1985.

Vietnam began to pull its troops out of Cambodia in 1989 and two years later a peace agreement was signed in Paris. Pol Pot refused to allow his party to join elections and soon the Khmer Rouge were marginalised, cut off by their pawns in China.

AFTER ordering the execution of one of his lieutenants, Son Sen, who he believed had tried to betray him, Pol Pot was tempted to flee but was captured and tried by his former supporters. He was sentenced to death for his role in the internal struggle of the Khmer Rouge. His bizarre trial, at which crowds chanted slogans while he sat impassive and the country itself was seen as concentric circles with the party leadership at the centre.

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY
April 20 1998

The danger of self-improvement

Tim Radford meets the Princeton professor whose warning on human genetic engineering has drawn fire from critics but growing acceptance from scientists

WATCH out for *Homo pro-* changes its own shape. Last month Cambridge physicist Stephen Hawking told President Clinton — at a millennium lecture at the White House — that humans were likely to redesign themselves completely over the next 1,000 years. Also last month Visions (October 21987), by the New York physicist Michio Kaku, proposed that humans would get up to all sorts of tricks, including replacing their own organs as they went out and if they try hard enough, maybe even engineering wings.

Later this year, in a new book called *Consilience* (to be published by Little, Brown), Edward O. Wilson, the great evolutionary theorist at Harvard university, will argue the same thing: that *Homo sapiens* is about to descend from natural selection, that from now on human evolution will be a matter for science and technology, tempered by ethics and political choice.

Actually, Lee Silver of Princeton university said it all in January in a book called *Remaking Eden* (Weidenfeld, 1997) and got into terrible trouble. The irony is that unlike the others, Silver is a molecular biologist and really does go around altering life as we know it, although not for the sake of the world. He's got it in the neck in the *Guardian* from Lord Winston, one of the champions of reproductive biology. Winston has himself dramatically altered life for many families, simply

to be controlled by the market place. And I am very cynical about the market place." His critics, he says, see the technology as limited. He doesn't. If we can tamper with one gene, why not five, why not 20? It will begin in simple ways at first: the provision of resistance to disease, the elimination of faulty heart genes. Then there will be the additions. One per cent of the people in the world have natural resistance to the HIV virus. Wouldn't it be useful to hand on an

immunity to AIDS? "So what's so terrible about giving something to your child that other people can naturally give to their children?" he asks. "But then, in the future, the question is: how far can we remove ourselves from human beings? I really think the day will come, whether in 100 years, or 1,000 years, when we really will have a better understanding of how our brain works, and be able to go far beyond. We are all human beings, and basically very similar to each other. But if we stepped out of that, that's dangerous. I think it is awful, this huge gap between the haves and the have-nots, and genetic engineering just widens that gap."

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look at 100,000 genes, and although scientists don't yet know what most of them do, they will soon.

"It is very simple. It is a little chip, just like a computer chip, but you can put a million different little drops of DNA detectors on it. What these little drops do is detect the presence of a gene. We only have 100,000 genes, or fewer. On this little chip you put down the 10 most common forms of each of our genes and then you take blood, or cells, and put them on this chip, and the chip will tell you exactly what form of every gene you have got. This is really, really remarkable. It blows open the whole game."

In one way, just the act of writing changed things for Silver. When he started writing *Remaking Eden*, he was an atheist. When he finished, he was not quite so sure.



Abbey National Offshore

Abbey National Offshore

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Thirty years of war in Northern Ireland has created a culture of violence as heroism, writes **Linda Grant**

Where hard men face hard choices

FROM now on, if the peace can be made, the North of Ireland will exist in the shadow of its heroes. Gerry Adams evoked their presence in his first words after the deal was made. It was Easter, he said, and St. Easter what do we think of but the 1916 Easter Rising?

Can Ireland do without heroes? I can't think of any countries that even try, so deep-seated is our need for icons. But the identity of newly-emergent states and the heroes whose identity is moat bound up in great myths about great men — not unobtainable figures of a mythic golden age, as those Madame Tussaud's waxworks, Lord Nelson and the Duke of Wellington, are for Britain — but the very model of how the boldest and most daring could live their lives.

And the conundrum that kids in Derry and Drumcree and the Falls Road confront today is this: if you're not going to set yourself up as the next Michael Collins or Bobby Sands, will you be in the new Northern Ireland? A guy who manages a supermarket?

To make peace requires a monumental mind shift, but it is the process that has been taking place since the 1984 ceasefire, culminating in Good Friday's events shows, it can be done, making peace is basically an act of will-power, forcing yourself to make compromises, to accept that there are no complete winners and total losers. Ireland is not to be united without the democratic consent of all the people. The South is to have a say in the management of the North. But it is one thing to make a deal, quite another to live with its consequences, which involves reinventing yourself and re-mapping your own psychology.

The first people to be affected will be those who have borne as a badge of honour the title "Men of Violence". Four years ago Rita O'Hare, Sinn Féin's press officer, said: "All Republicans are looking forward with intense hope to a period where they will not have to fight any more." She painted a portrait of the IRA as idealists nurtured

by the inspiration of the French Revolution, they creed the socialist tenets of equality and fraternity. If this were Hollywood, the terrorists to be released over the next two years would be seen in a closing act tilling the soil and, as the long day closes, trudging home for a pint of porter.

In the Republic of Ireland, however, a leading Irish figure who lived close to the border said that if there were peace, sectors of the IRA would simply transform themselves (if they hadn't started to already) into a professional Mob, using extensive international contacts to make inroads into arms smuggling, drugs and prostitution. He pointed to the mafia, which began as an organised protest by a semi-serious class against absentee landlords.

O'Hare was horrified when I put this to her. But those who signed up to the struggle as part of a wave of sixties idealism, and saw parallels between their own situation and the civil rights movement in the United States, were later joined by wage-upon-wave of new recruits growing up in the middle of a string of terrorist attacks that no one could remember the beginning of. For O'Hare, the ideological inspirations for her life were Marx and Franz Fanon. How true is that of anyone who was born in 1968?

What 30 years of war in Ireland has created is a culture of violence as heroism which has become encoded, the DNA, into male identity. Despite the presence of women in leading positions in Sinn Féin and the incarceration of women prisoners in Armagh prison in conditions that elicited an international protest in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the gender division has tended to be between the hard men and the various, largely inept attempts by women to found crusades for peace.

Since the beginning of the Troubles, young kids with dead-end lives on each side have found an allure and meaning in going to the terrorists, as young blacks in urban America have fallen for the glamorous self-destruction of the gangster lifestyle. In Ireland, a prison term is a trophy. The Troubles have



Painters put the finishing touches to a mural by born-again Christians on Belfast's Shankill Road. The young today have to find a role for themselves that goes beyond sectarianism

made something of these guys' lives, given them something to tell their grandchildren. Now what? Now who are they going to be? Lads without a job or working in a mental trust?

Northern Ireland's future psychology lies along one of two paths. There is a route which would take it to where Vietnam is today, with a determination among the young to annihilate the past, and a hunger for

If you're not going to be the next Michael Collins or Bobby Sands, who will you be in the new Northern Ireland?

normality. In Vietnam in 1989, heroes of the Ho Chi Minh trail with chests of medals told me how the teenagers weren't interested in the acts of guerrilla warfare. What they wanted were disco and mini-skirts and fast cars. But that yearning for consumer goods can hide a more complex displacement of identity.

In Israel, earlier this month, a leading pop singer remarked that his generation was trying to find a

significance for itself in a country that had woven 50 years worth of myths out of the tales of its successive waves of heroes, from its "freedom fighters" of 1918 to its daring secret agents of present-day Mossad.

If Israel really did hand back the Golan, withdraw from Lebanon and agree to a territorial accommodation with the Palestinians, how could guys like him write their way into the history books? How could they feel anything but small next to those who have gone before? "Peace is made by people with pencils," he said. And people with pencils aren't heroes.

Nobody who has had any involvement in the peace process is suggesting that the sectarian hatred between the two communities will evaporate overnight, but the implacable hostility can be eroded if specific grievances no longer lurk in old wounds. The parallel task is creating social and economic conditions that ensure that if sections of the IRA and Loyalists do diversify into organised crime, they don't come to represent a potent force of attraction for young men with nothing else to do with themselves, who have no means of self-actualisation in a place where heroism has always been how you make your mark.

Countries end wars with various proclamations that the world they

are creating is going to be one of peace. In Vietnam the heroes a ghastly, rattling around with a clanking, metal-shaped pop, their heroism, but to role models of the other hand, continues to be much involved in creating a new, less distressing definition of heroism.

Well all modesty is considered false modesty," she said. "I don't really think it is modesty. I think it is a temperance, that you feel you are other one of a life's winners at life's end."

"People have been trying very hard to do this," I said. She laughed. I quoted A.S. Byatt: "Jane Austen's secret hero, for precision and clarity, and Adam Mars-Jones: 'A long. Now they have to return to the normal life, to the mundane, to the humdrum, the worries about a mortgage or the rent. It is a plangent, ironic tragedy of warblers. But what they are supposed to be fighting for is peace and when they get it, by and large they don't know what to do with it.'"

If the peace in Northern Ireland holds and it becomes a country like any other, or rather part of any where are the future hard men? What happens to the cabinet violence? A line from William Golding: "Slowly the poison the whole life stream fills. The waste remains and kills."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
April 25 1998

Penelope Fitzgerald, who last month became the first foreigner to win a top US literary award, talks to Peter Lennon about prizes, men and red-hot poker

A modesty that blazes

THERE was something patronising about the pressure with which the media reported her modest and surprised Penelope Fitzgerald, aged 82, was winning the American National Book Critics Circle fiction award, the first time a non-US writer had won the prize.

The implication was that amazement and modesty were the appropriate responses for a grandmother.

But when I gallantly attempted to show that she had no reason to be modest — the Booker Prize in 1979 (for *Offshore*); three later novels also shortlisted; shortlisted again for the Whitbread and Sunday Express awards, and now a Nobel — she shrugged aside the small American literary mountain which is Philip Roth and outpaced the much-loved Don DeLillo — she was having none of it. Modesty is apparently a treasured state of mind.

"Was your surprise modesty or false modesty?" I asked as we sat in her Highgate study.

"Well all modesty is considered false modesty," she said. "I don't really think it is modesty. I think it is a temperance, that you feel you are other one of a life's winners at life's end."

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often go into lengthy thought, expressions playing across her face like wind on water: then she comes out with a quick, cent, if sometimes subtly evasive reply.

You soon get the impression that she is one of those people who, when it comes to matters which concern her, is quietly unyielding. Her second book was about the life of "Uncle Ronnie" (Monaghan Ronald Knox, a notable priest in his day) and his brothers. Her publisher pleaded with her to change the title which he felt was vulnerable to facetious comment. With no literary status to support her, she stood fast. The book is called *The Knox Brothers*.

They were a distinguished lot. She said Ronnie nearly persuaded young Harold Macmillan to become a Catholic. Uncle Wilfred was an Anglican priest and Uncle Evelyn a cryptographer in both world wars who helped break the Enigma code. Under the heading of matters which do not concern her comes delivering acceptance speeches for awards. She let her American publisher write and deliver them.

"What did he say you said?"

"I don't know," she said, perfectly indifferent.

Matters which require a brief answer get a brief answer. Why did she have the Thames in which she lived with her husband and three children sink? "Holes," she said. What was she doing in the first place, squatting in a spongy barge at Chelsea Reach in the 1960s, a few steps from the swinging King's Road? "It was cheap."

The men in her books, such as *Fred Fairly* in *The Gate Of Angels*, are life's losers. They struggle gallantly, but really ought to be left in peace. Life is just a bit too much for them."

Cambridge physicist who has lost his religious faith, are often innocent, belated creatures. "I think writers are stronger than men. I make them stronger in my novels. The sort of men I like are life's losers. They struggle gallantly, but they really ought to be left in peace. Life is just a bit too much for them."

It might not be too fanciful to deduce the genesis of her literary career from this. Her husband was "in the travel business". Here he was in the most hopeless of situations, a travel man not only moored to an unmovable boat that eventually awoke, but also tethered by terminal illness. She wrote that first novel, *The Golden Child*, to amuse him. It was not of a notion she got that the reason the lightbulb in the Tatumkamen exhibition was so dim was that the museum was a fake. Then came *Offshore*, about the book which won the Booker. Her career followed a classical pattern.

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Penelope Fitzgerald: "No amount of success can persuade you you are a success" PHOTO: TOM JARVIS

over time she found the works just did not stand up. Surprisingly, the book which survived this rigorous test, and on whom English boys and girls were ready to make a special effort, was James Joyce's *Portrait Of An Artist*.

I tried Flaubert. "Only men like Flaubert," she said. Because he is patronising to his women? She gave a guarded nod. "Jane Austen does not describe the characters," she said. "She does not even say whether they are dark or fair. But usually when they came on you know they are un." Here was clear approval.

Penelope Fitzgerald's first published work was a life of the Pre-Raphaelite artist Burne-Jones. When a friend gave her a book he disliked, he put a red-hot poker through it.

"Every one had red-hot poker in those days," she said, with an air of regret that such instruments of literary criticism were no longer readily available.

Television adaptations of the classics got a hot stab. "I hope they will be an end to them," she said. "Surely they have nearly reached the end and we should be plagued with those desperate televisionations."

At her feet were two piles of books. She is a judge for this year's Booker and already well into reading 200 entries. The steady one of two books, she noticed to with respect the larger pile of rejects she gave a scolding glance.

She swore me to secrecy about the names of the two authors who have so far escaped the hot poker.

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CITY OF WORDS
John Ryle

"I'M NOT afraid of flying. Well, just a little. But I have an ever-growing dread of airports: of the limbo of the transit lounge; of the horrid hush of the check-in, the rumble of the moving walkways, the glimpses of skeletal bags and briefcases as they pass through the scanner of the x-ray; the press of fellow-passengers, and the moment of no return before the entrance to the pod-like gangway that leads to the plane. The doleful blend of tedious and urgency that accompanies this long, drawn-out passage from earth to air seems increasingly daunting. And as cities become more like airports, and some airports,

like London's Heathrow, grow till they resemble cities taking cities, air travel is slowly taking over more and more of our lives. On board a plane, there is a sense of relief, an end to responsibility. The moment of arrival has been and gone. Once airborne, there is absolutely nothing you can do. You can't get out; you can't take the controls. You are no longer the captain of your fate; the pilot is. The illusion of choice that accompanies daily life is over — until you arrive at your destination and confront the new order of the luggage carousel and the Customs inspection.

Some passengers experience this powerlessness as a source of anxiety; for me, it is the occasion of surrender. Flying is

like surgery, like anaesthesia, a form of abandonment; you have no choice but to trust the surgeon, or the pilot.

Anxious people will tell you that you are, statistically speaking, safer in a plane than in a car, safer than you would be on foot, safer, no doubt, than if you stayed at home. But this isn't the point. The long hours in the air, and at the airport, eat into self-reliance. If you can't cultivate stillness in this lifetime waiting time is a breeding ground for imaginary fears. And there are always new reasons for anxiety. Just as your neighbour flips open his computer, ignoring the instructions to wait until the seat-belt sign has gone off, you see an article in *Business Week*, "Could a laptop bring down a

plane?" (Answers unlikely, but no one knows for sure).

This area of concern is the possibility of electronic interference scrambling the instructions to the mechanism of the plane — it is highlighted in a recent issue of the *New York Review of Books*. It carries an extraordinarily detailed article arguing that the mysterious explosion that downed a TWA flight off Long Island in 1996 may have been caused by electromagnetic emissions, not from a laptop, but from US naval vessels and war planes in the vicinity.

And now we can entertain ourselves with another thought: that our neighbour on the plane, the one who turned so long in the lavatory, may not be a businessman at all, but a terrorist harbouring a plot of anthrax in a packet of condoms. Even we have the thought, the plague he

brought on board is scouring through the stale recycled air of the cabin, and he is scurrying to the white.

The airlines themselves don't always help. On a long-haul flight recently, I was startled to find that the in-flight movie was *Broken Arrow*, an action movie in which John Travolta plays a psychotic airline pilot who attacks a jet carrying nuclear warheads. As we flew over the United States, we were compelled to watch a sequence of planes crashing and burning in the Nevada desert. Taciturn, really.

Fears may be born, and they are just adding to the stress. So I am glad to see that the subject of air travel is being subjected to a thorough, if you are a fan of the plane, you may wish to read this now. But please enjoy the flight until this article has reached its complete halt.

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